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FIG. 11. Tools and Work in Hide. a, d, Hide Boxes; b, Sandal; c, Heavy Gouge with Sheath; e, Plane-iron; f, Plane; g, Knife and Sheath; h, Hide Cap.

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ends (Fig. 9, k). Bodkin-like bone points are used as head scratchers and also to disentangle the warp in weaving (Fig. 14, g). Women often carry them thrust into their hair, but they are not ornaments and are rarely decorated. Other long bone points are occasionally used as meat forks. The jawbones of oxen are often used in mat making, to smooth and polish the fabric (Fig. 12, g).

Bone is shaped with knives while still fresh and polished like horn. Both horn and bone objects are sometimes decorated with series of small incised circles, each circle having a dot in the center. These are made with a slender, forked, iron drill which is shaped like a heavy needle with the tip of the eye broken off. The drill is set in a wooden shaft about a foot long. The shaft is twirled between the palms. One point of the drill makes the central dot, while the other revolves about it and incises the circle. When on bone, the circles are usually rubbed with soot, to heighten the effect.

Hide is used for sandals, thongs, a few pouches and knife sheaths, and for skull caps. Of these, only the sandals are common. There is no tanning of any sort. The hide is roughly fleshed with a small knife, but the hair is usually left on. Sandal soles are cut from dry rawhide, the flesh side being worn next the foot. Thongs for attachment pass through holes in the edges of the sole and are knotted beneath (Fig. 11, b). Caps are made from the skin of an ox hump, dried over a form (Fig. 11, h). Pouches are usually rectangular, like boxes. They are made by drawing the fresh hide over a block of wood, folding it, and sewing the ends together. When it has dried, the block is removed but the stiffness of the hide keeps it in shape (Fig. 11, a, d). Knife sheaths are made in the same way.

The Zafimaniry occasionally tooled their knife sheaths and small pouches. The hide was first dried, then soaked in water until the hair could be rubbed off with the fingers. It was then bent over a wooden form, flesh side in, and sewed. Lastly, designs were pressed into the surface with a blunt point of hard wood or bone. A pouch and sheath decorated in this way are illustrated (Figs. 5, a; 11, g). The sheath may be of Betsileo manufacture. This type of decoration is now obsolete.

MATTING AND BASKETRY

Mats and baskets are the commonest of all Tanala manufactures. Every woman is expected to make those used by her own household. A bride spends the month before her marriage in making a supply, including one especially fine mat which she presents to her parents-

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FIG. 16. Raffia Cloth, etc. a, b, Raffia Cloth Bags; c, Man's Smock, Raffia Cloth; d, Woman's Dress, Raffia Cloth; e, Wooden Chains for Rolling *Hafotra*; f, *Hafotra* Cloth Beater.

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The weaver sits flat on the ground with her legs extending forward under the loom and maintains the tension by leaning against the back rest. The position is tiring and the Betsileo give this as the principal reason for their abandonment of this type of loom. The weaver first inserts two laze rods, made from very thin splints of bamboo, then, when two or three threads have been woven and loosely beaten in, a strip of bamboo about an inch wide is passed through the warp and used as a base for beating in the rest of the weft. Each time the counter shed is to be formed, the heddle rod is slipped off the bamboo poles, the weaver releasing the tension by leaning forward. 286

When the cloth is nearly finished, narrow bands of very simple design are sometimes woven across the strip to serve as borders for the completed garment. In making these bands, needles, or simply the fingers, are employed, never the shuttle. The weft threads are carried across in pairs, passing over and under different numbers of warp threads. Twining is sometimes used in addition to true weaving. After the border has been made, the ordinary weaving is continued for an inch or more. The remaining warp is then cut and the cloth removed. The edges are turned in and sewed, to prevent raveling.

Newly woven *hafotra* cloth is stiff and harsh to the touch, and the colors appear dull. Before wearing, it is taken to a stream and beaten on a smooth stone with a cylindrical wooden club (Fig. 16, f). During the beating the cloth must be kept very wet and, if the water is too cold, the threads will not felt properly and may break, making holes in the fabric. Cloth that has been properly beaten has a smooth, glossy surface and bright colors. It is cold and somewhat slippery to the touch, like linen. The beating is always done by women. [462]

Hafotra cloth is principally used for *lambas* ("mantles") but loin cloths were formerly made from it and a few belts are still manufactured. *Lambas* are made from two strips of cloth sewn side by side. At least 90 per cent of these show the same general pattern. The ground color, called *aditra*, is made from one of the shades of indigo. On this are arranged narrow stripes of red, purple, yellow, natural color and, if the ground shade is light, dark blue. A stripe of natural color is called *famotsy*, and a line of it *famotsy tsy*. The other stripes go by their ordinary color names. Stripes of mixed color, always along one edge, are made by introducing alternate light and dark warp threads. In *lambas* of this pattern 286 291

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286 the weft is always dyed red. The only variations from the pattern
●291 which were seen were several specimens made entirely of undyed *hafotra* and a single specimen which had four widely spaced stripes of combined blue and yellow on a ground of natural color.

531 The Tanala, like most of the Madagascar tribes, display extraor-
286 dinarily good taste in the combination of colors. Even when glaring aniline dyes are used their compositions are almost always pleasing. The outstanding feature of their textile design is the use of narrow lines at the edges or in the body of their stripes. If the stripe and ground are both fairly light in color, the stripe will be edged with a black or very dark line. A wide dark stripe will have a few lines of light color incorporated. These lines are invisible at a little distance but give emphasis to the whole. Delicate shadings are also produced by lines of graded color. In one specimen a stripe is composed of three yellow threads in the center with two black threads, two dark blue, two light blue, two red and two white on either side.

CORDAGE

283 The best native material for cordage is raffia. Long ribbons of this fiber, just as it is striped from the leaf, are used for all the purposes for which we employ light string. Heavier cord is made from twisted raffia in two strands. The strands are rolled between the palm and the bare thigh, the maker rolling first one strand and then the other and allowing the two to twist about each other. New lengths of fiber are rolled in as needed and the work proceeds with great rapidity. Heavier rope is usually braided from bundles of the untwisted fiber in a three-strand plait. Rope an inch in diameter can be made in this way. It is soft, light and extremely strong, but is rarely used at present because of the commercial value of the raffia.

[624] Inferior rope and cordage are made from the inner bark of various trees, called *hafotra*. The use of this material in weaving has already been described. In rope making the fiber is boiled, shredded and cut into pieces 4 feet long. The rope is braided in three-strand plaits from bundles of these. New pieces are introduced a few at a time, so as to keep the rope of uniform size and strength. *Hafotra* ropes are light and soft, but do not wear well. Small cordage is rarely made from it.

Strips of fresh bark are frequently used in place of string. Permanent lashings are usually made from split vines, while large vines

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lated filth. Vermin thrive under such conditions and it is almost 356
impossible for a white man to sleep in one of these dwellings.

ARTIFICIAL LIGHT

The Tanala usually keep to the house after sunset, except on 354
moonlight nights. The only lights used in the open air are torches, usually flaming brands of resinous wood. Better torches, for night fishing, are made from bundles of long, dry leaves tied together at intervals of 3 to 4 inches.

Inside the house, most families are content with the light of the fire. The Zafimaniry make a limited use of small iron lamps (Fig. 19, e) like those of the Betsileo. The lamp consists of a small bowl attached to the side of a long spike. The whole is usually forged from a single piece of metal. The lower end of the spike is pointed and is thrust into either the earth floor or a heavy block of wood. The upper end is bent down over the bowl and then recurved, forming a small hook. Sometimes this is forked and spread, resembling the horns of cattle. The bowl is filled with grease and has a floating wick, twisted from a bit of bark cloth or commercial cotton fabric. A lump of fat is impaled on the hook above the bowl and slowly melts down, feeding the lamp. Iron lamps with multiple bowls seem to be unknown.

All the Tanala use tapers made by impaling the kernels of castor oil beans side by side on a thin splint of bamboo or other stiff material. The first bean is lit at the fire and the taper laid horizontally across a bowl or other raised object with the burning end protruding beyond its side. When the first bean is nearly consumed, the taper is picked up and inverted to light the next. Such tapers require almost constant attention. They are reminiscent of the candle nut tapers used in Polynesia.

COSTUME

In describing Tanala clothing it is necessary to distinguish 291 ●
between the Ikongo, the Menabe in general, and the Zafimaniry. [184]
The garments of the first two resemble those of the east coast tribes while those of the Zafimaniry are of the plateau pattern. The two types differ so widely that it seems best to describe the Zafimaniry separately.

In pre-European times, the Ikongo dressed exclusively in soft mats. They made no use of true cloth and bark cloth was employed only for women's belts. The Menabe, on the other hand, rarely

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291 used mats for clothing. Their garments were made from bark cloth in the earliest times, then, after the introduction of weaving, from raffia cloth.

[177] Except among the Zafimaniry, Tanala costume has been little influenced by European contact. Commercial cotton cloth is beginning to come into use, but the garments are still made according to the ancient pattern. The men regularly wear a smock (*akanjo*). The Tanala say that this garment was originally made from a single long strip of material with a hole in the center, for the head. This strip covered the body front and back, but was so narrow that the sides did not meet. It was allowed to hang loose, the lower edges coming to a little above the knee. Later, the strip was made wider and sewn up along the left side. The edges overlapped on the right side and were held together by a tie or by a wooden button and loop (Fig. 20, a). Still later, it was sewn up both sides—the modern form. The original poncho type did not become obsolete among the Menabe until about sixty years ago.

The matting *akanjo* of the modern Ikongo is made in five pieces, one for each half of the front and back and a large, circular piece for the skirt (Fig. 20, b). Each garment is made to its owner's measure. The neck is cut square or V-shaped and there are no sleeves. The skirt, which comes to a little below the knee, flares somewhat, to permit free leg movement. Sometimes a pocket is woven into the front of the skirt on the right side.

The raffia *akanjo*, worn by most of the Menabe, is made from a single broad strip of raffia cloth with a hole cut in the center for the head. The neck is reinforced with a yoke of the same material (Fig. 16, c). Work *akanjo* are sleeveless, but those worn on dress occasions are often made with full-length sleeves puffed at the wrist. This is probably due to European influence. The skirt is moderately full and somewhat longer than in the matting *akanjo*. The pocket, if any, is in the middle of the back, between the shoulder blades. It opens inside the garment. It is difficult for the wearer to reach it, but quite impossible for anyone else to pick it. This is the reason which the Tanala assign for placing it in such an inconvenient position.

At the present time, all Tanala men wear a loin cloth (*salaka*) under the *akanjo*. This is considered essential for decency and is worn even with European trousers. The Menabe say that they have always used the *salaka*. I could get no information on this point for the Ikongo, but I doubt whether they used it in the earliest period. The men of the southeast coast tribes, who used mat

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FIG. 20. Garments. a, Matting Smock, Old Style; b, Matting Smock, Present Style; c, Matting Dress; d, Man's Hat; e, f, Man in *Lamba*, Front and Rear; g, h, Loin Cloth, Rear and Front; j, Woman in Costume.

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291 *akanjo* identical with those of the Ikongo, did not wear the *salaka* until compelled to do so by their Imerina conquerors.

The *salaka* consists of a strip of soft fabric 6 to 10 inches wide and 6 to 8 feet long. In adjusting it, 3 to 6 inches at one end is turned back and held against the abdomen with one hand. The rest is then passed backward between the legs, up over the right buttock, and around the waist from right to left. The forward end is then released and hangs down outside the waist band, forming a short apron. The long rear end is then pushed under the strip coming from between the legs behind, carried back around the waist once more, from left to right, and finally tucked in at the front or side (Fig. 20, g, h).

Belts are rarely worn. They are put on under the *akanjo*, so that they are concealed. Small boxes for fire-making outfits and flat pouches of rawhide are often worn hanging on the breast, also inside the *akanjo*. On long journeys men wear simple rawhide sandals (Fig. 11, b).

Men sometimes wear caps made from the skin of an ox hump (Fig. 11, h). I was also told of caps of lemur fur, worn on dress occasions, but these have always been rare, and I saw no examples. From the descriptions, they seem to be made from a whole pelt sewn together at the ends. The top is open.

Both sexes wear brimless caps woven from the glossy outer layer of the papyrus rush, from palm leaves, or from sedge. The strips employed are, as a rule, narrower than those used in mat or basket weaving, some specimens running sixteen strips to the inch. The simpler caps are nothing more than small, square-bottomed baskets. In those made from soft sedge, the body of the basket is allowed to mold itself to the head, like a skull cap, while its edges are rolled back around the rim (Fig. 20, d). In other caps, made from stiffer material, the basket is turned partly inside out, the reversed portion forming a band on the outside of the cap. This type has the disadvantage of exposing the rough side of the material. To avoid this, various composite forms have been developed. One type is made with a wide flat band which encircles the head, the lower third of its width being turned up inside, and a separate crown whose edges are turned down and sewn or woven into the band about ½ inch below its upper edge (Fig. 21, b). In another type the crown is flat and square, and is sewn directly to the upper edge of the band, which is rolled outward instead of inward. The outside edge of the band is brought up almost to the crown and pulled in with a

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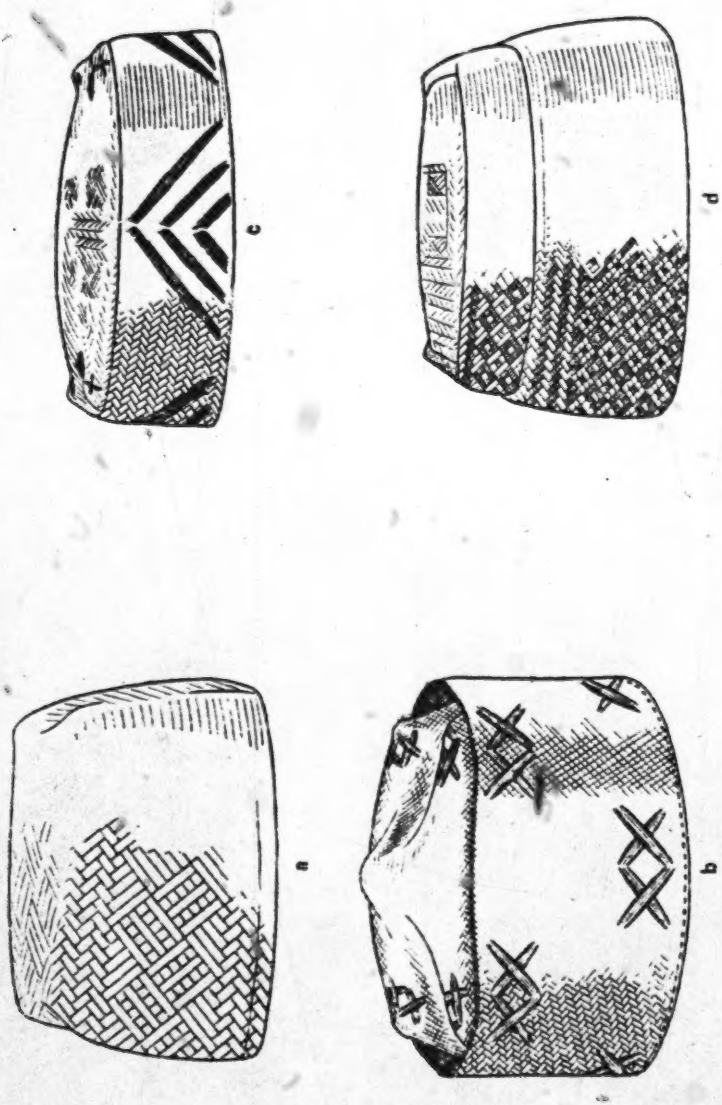

FIG. 21. Hats. a, b, Men's Hats; c, d, Women's Hats.

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291 draw string, so that the crown juts out above it (Fig. 21, d). In still another type, a narrow strip is sewn in between the flat crown and the band.

I was unable to trace the distribution of these various types of cap. The skull caps of soft sedge seem to be more popular with the Ikongo than the more elaborate forms, but I am under the impression that all the forms are used by all the Tanala gentes except the Zafimaniry. The one-piece caps are usually worn by men and the composite forms by women. Among the eastern gentes, who are [531] in contact with the Betsimisaraka, women's caps are usually decorated with woven colored designs similar to those used on mats, but finer and more elaborate. Elsewhere, they are usually plain. Men's caps are rarely colored, but are usually embroidered with dyed raffia or *hafotra* in simple geometric designs (Fig. 21, a, b).

The main garment of Tanala women is a straight, tubular dress, like a sack open at both ends. This is large enough to be easily slipped on over the head and long enough to reach from the armpits to about 3 inches below the knee. It is held in place by a narrow belt. The fabric is so stiff that the upper part stands up and covers the body. When working in the fields, the upper part is folded back over the belt and hangs like an overskirt. In rainy weather, the belt is removed, and the whole garment pulled up until the upper part covers the head like a hood (Fig. 20, j).

The mat dresses of the Ikongo are made from two or three cylindrical sections sewn edge to edge (Fig. 20, c). The construction of the raffia dresses of the Menabe (Fig. 16, d) has been described under Manufacture of Cloth. In both cases, the belts are narrow bands of bark cloth or commercial fabric tied in front. They are not decorated.

Married women usually have the breasts bare. In the presence of strangers they draw up their dresses and hold the upper edges under their arms. Unmarried women and girls wear short, tight-fitting, sleeveless jackets of commercial cloth, or brassieres. The jackets are probably due to Arab influence. The ordinary brassieres are plain strips of soft matting 3 to 6 inches wide. Those worn on dress occasions are made in two parts, a broad strip, tapering slightly toward the ends, which is shaped to fit and support the breasts, and a narrower strip, often of very fine weave, which goes across the back (Fig. 22, b).

291 855 An important article of clothing for women is the baby cover. This is a square mat, about 18 inches across, which is worn hanging

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over the shoulders. It is held by a string about the neck. Another type of baby cover is shaped like the three sides and bottom of an oblong box (Fig. 22, a). Apparently each of these types is used by different gentes, but I could not learn their distribution. The baby cover is intended primarily to protect the child from sun and rain when it is carried on its mother's back, but it also serves to keep the woman's back warm and I often saw the covers worn when no child was being carried.

The Zafimaniry have never dressed in either mats or bark cloth and make little use of raffia cloth. In pre-European times their garments were made from finely woven *hafotra* cloth. Men wore the *salaka*, already described, and a mantle or blanket (*lamba*). The *lamba* is a rectangular piece of cloth 6 to 8 feet long and 4 to 5 feet wide. It is always made from two strips sewn side by side. It is draped about the shoulders, the right end, which is somewhat longer, being thrown over the left shoulder so that it hangs down the back (Fig. 20, e, f). It is taken off during violent labor. For easy work, the two sides are folded back on the shoulders, leaving the arms free.

Women formerly wore the *lamba* and a kilt, made from a cloth wrapped about the waist, which extended to just below the knee. The brassiere was not worn, and there were no baby covers in this group. Simple basket caps were worn by both sexes, but women frequently went bareheaded.

At the present time the original Zafimaniry costume is quite obsolete. Men wear trousers and shirts or long-sleeved smocks, usually of cotton flannel. Women wear wrappers of the Mother Hubbard variety. Both sexes retain the *lamba* and do not appear in public without it. The raffia *akanjo* is sometimes worn as a work garment, but never as full dress. Conversely, the other Tanala Menabe often wear the *lamba* as a part of full dress, but not when in ordinary costume.

The Tanala appear to be singularly indifferent to ornaments and rarely wear any when in ordinary costume. Both sexes occasionally have a string of beads tied about one wrist, and men often wear a small bracelet of plain brass or copper wire, but both these are really charms. The women of some of the eastern gentes of the Menabe wear curious neck rings of silver. These are about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch thick in the center, tapering to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick at the ends. The two ends hook together at the back (Fig. 22, d). A few of the younger women also wear earrings of European manufacture.

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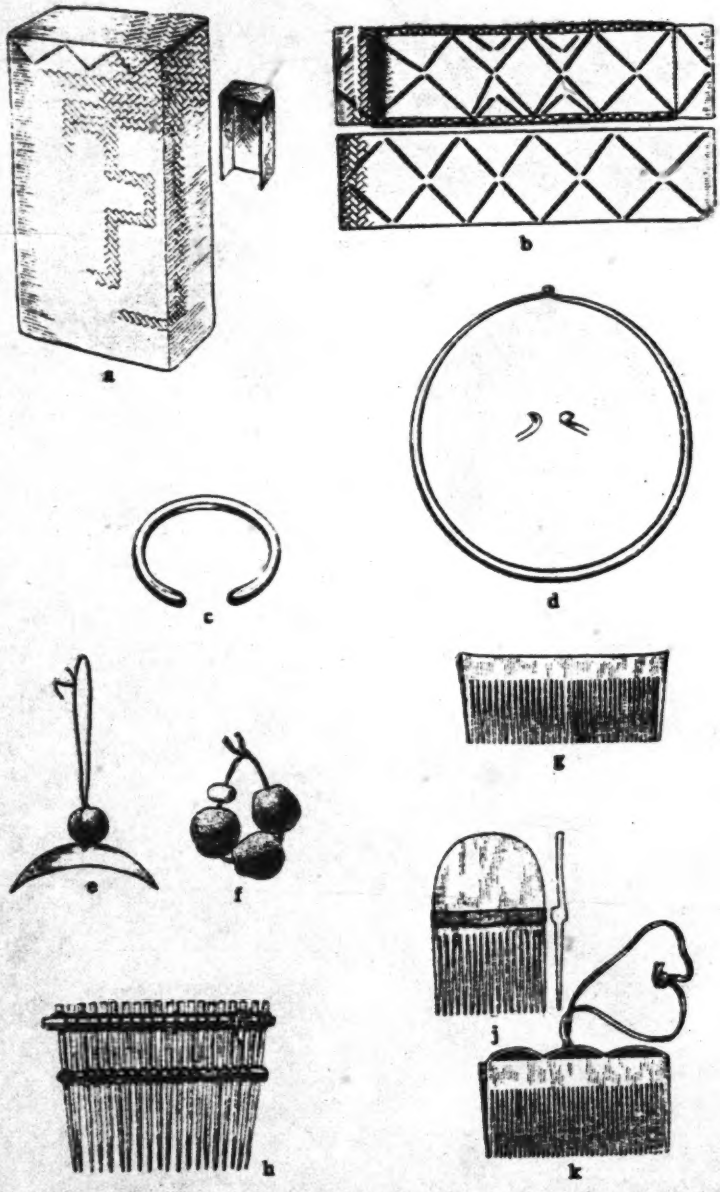

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FIG. 22. Ornaments and Combs. a, Baby Cover; b, Matting Brassiere; c, Silver Bracelet; d, Silver Neck Ring; e, Hair Ornament, Fossil Ivory and Ancient Bead; f, Hair Ornament, Ancient Beads; g, j, k, Wooden Combs; h, Bamboo Splint Comb.